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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

July 1983

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are slightly dated. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in June 1983)

AFRICA GENERAL

Fair, T. J. D. "Towards Balanced Spatial Development in Southern Africa." Journal of Contemporary African Studies, April 1982, pp. 253-67.

Inequality, both among and within countries, is regarded as the central problem in Third World development. This article is concerned primarily with imbalances among and in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Malawi, and the imbalance between this group of countries and South Africa. The author concludes that rural development is the most urgent priority. Regional cooperation in Southern Africa (excluding South Africa) already has achieved great things in the fields of power and water supply, transportation, and financial and trade agreements.

Gowa, Joanne, and Wessell, Nils H. Ground Rules: Soviet and American Involvement in Regional Conflicts. Philadelphia: Foreign Policy Research Institute, 1982.

Focuses on the Horn and Southern Africa where Soviet-American rivalry has been superimposed on local conflicts. Discusses both the limits and controls for weapons systems and the basic ground rules of behavior by the military forces of both superpowers. The author also describes the current regional political situations that facilitate and encourage superpower involvement.

Halliday, Fred. Threat from the East? Soviet Policy from Afghanistan and Iran to the Horn of Africa. London: Penguin Books, 1982. Reviewed by Gwyn Prins in African Affairs, April 1983.

Halliday examines the widely held assumption in the West of a "Soviet threat" in the "Arc of Crisis," the countries in the arc from Iran to the Horn of Africa. He concludes that, overall, the Soviet Union has lost influence in the region. Like any country, the Soviet Union supports political forces sympathetic to it, provided this does not conflict with its own economic and political needs, and it tries to keep the global balance of power even. The striking feature of the Soviet Union's involvement has been its inability to influence events in the region to any substantial degree.

Nicol, Davidson. "The United States and Africa: Time for a New Appraisal." African Affairs, April 1983, pp. 159-167.

Focuses on current US interests in Africa; also gives a brief history of the United States' past ties. Major US interests which determine its African policies today include the East-West power struggle, strategic mineral supplies, energy supplies, and traditional support for democracy and independence. America's behavior vis-a-vis the Namibia problem will determine whether the independence and well-being of Africans or the East-West power struggle will be paramount in setting US policy. Although the US must put strategic and economic interests first, the author states that the US can afford to place humanitarian interests in the forefront in policies toward smaller and weaker countries which are not necessarily part of a wider defense strategy.

ANGOLA

Bender, Gerald J. "The Continuing Crisis in Angola." Current History, March 1983, pp. 124-25, 128 and 138.

Professor Bender discusses the major strengths and weaknesses of the various Angolan liberation movements since independence. By including "northerners" in relatively important posts, the MPLA effectively has undermined much of the FNLA's former support. On the contrary, despite claims by the MPLA that UNITA would be disposed of quickly, UNITA remains a serious threat to the Luanda regime. In addition to its domestic problems, Angola has become a confrontation point between the superpowers, and South African raids into the southern region only add to Angola's instability. Despite Angola's considerable natural wealth and potential, it has not experienced peace since independence. These many internal and external problems must be reconciled before Angola has a chance at stability and growth.

Vasiliyev, R. "Angola: Overcoming Difficulties." International Affairs (Moscow), December 1982, pp. 142-44.

According to this Soviet author, Angola's woes arise from colonial exploitation by the Portuguese prior to 1975 and subsequently from US and US-backed South African attempts to keep the country unstable and economically weak. However, the growing solidarity and cooperation between Angola, the Soviet Union, and other Eastern Bloc states will help Socialist Angola triumph in the end.

CHAD

Soudan, Francois. "David et les Deux Goliaths (David and the Two Goliaths)." Jeune Afrique, 25 May 1983, pp. 54-55.

Hissene Habre seemed well on his way to receiving recognition for his government when trouble broke out with Nigeria along the ill-defined Lake Chad water frontier. With both Nigeria and Libya against him, Habre's future is in serious doubt. This has caused great concern in France.

Soudan, Francois. "Goukouni Revient (Goukouni Returns)." Jeune Afrique, 1 June 1983, pp. 32-33.

A description and chronology of Goukouni Weddeye's march toward N'Djamena. Leading personalities in the GUNT army are discussed and the political rhetoric of the movement is outlined.

ETHIOPIA

Hasselblatt, Gunnar. Naechstes Jahr im Oromoland--Von der Eklataten Verletzung der Menschenrechte durch den Abessinisch-Amharischen Rassismus in Aethiopien. Ein Bericht (Next Year in Oromoland--On the Clear Violation of Human Rights through Abyssinian-Amhara Racism in Ethiopia: A Report). Stuttgart: Radius-Verlag, 1982. Reviewed by Rigmor Osterkamp in Internationales Afrikaforum, vol. 19, no. 1 (1983), pp. 94-95.

The author of this book was adviser on Christian-Muslim relations for Ethiopian Mekane Yesus Evangelical Church until 1975. Since he is no longer permitted to enter Ethiopia, much of the information in his book is based on interviews with Ethiopian refugees in Sudan. The author's thesis is that the Ethiopian revolution has not changed the Amhara colonial domination of the Oromos. Using refugees' accounts, he tries to prove that the Amhara minority regime is continuing its domination through forced resettlement, conscription, and literacy programs. Convincing evidence that these measures are aimed specifically against Oromos is not presented, however. Hasselblatt's use of British Foreign Office documents from the years 1925-36 is new and of some historical interest. According to these documents, the Oromo-populated southwest region of Ethiopia was relatively autonomous until 1933 when it came under brutal Amhara rule.

Matthies, Volker. Der Eritrea-Konflikt. Ein "Vergessener Krieg" am Horn von Afrika (The Eritrean Conflict: A "Forgotten War" on the Horn of Africa). Hamburg: Institut fuer Afrika-Kunde, 1981. Reviewed by Rigmor Osterkamp in Internationales Afrikaforum. vol. 19, no. 1 (1983), pp. 93-94.

The reviewer finds this book an extremely well-balanced, well-documented, clearly organized and clearly written historical and political analysis of the Eritrean conflict. He concludes that Eritrea was never politically or territorially part of "Greater Ethiopia" although it does not have ethnic and cultural ties. Matthies states that the Dergue's policies toward the region follow in the tradition of imperial Ethiopia; he is inclined to conclude that the emperors' policies were mild by comparison to the Dergue's. The Eritreans' only hope for African support is greater emphasis on the uniqueness of their struggle because it is a "colonial question." The author is less skeptical about Eritrea's viability as an economic entity than he is about its ability to survive as a political state with international recognition.

GHANA

Bentsi-Enchill, Nii K. "Democracy and Nationalism." West Africa, 30 May 1983, pp. 1280-81.

In an interview with former Ghanaian Secretary for Works and Housing, Mawuse Dake, the author focuses on the structure and functions of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) led by Jerry Rawlings. Also addresses the recent national budget proposals and the public reaction to them.

KENYA

Makinda, Samuel M. "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy." Third World Quarterly, April 1983, pp. 300-19.

Examines Kenya's foreign policy from 1963 to the present and attempts to explain the motives behind Kenya's international behavior. The author perceives three phases in Kenya's foreign policy. In the initial phase, a cautious approach was adopted to international issues, and Kenya concerned itself primarily with economic issues and the security of its borders. This was followed by a period of uncertainty and reassessment. In the current phase, Kenya, wittingly or unwittingly, has become involved in the "new Cold

"War" politics through its military access agreement with the United States. One repercussion of this foreign policy shift is that Kenya will no longer be able to play the role of neutral arbiter in African conflicts. Kenya's close ties with the United States are leading to a rapprochement with Somalia. This will be of little benefit to Kenya, however, and will complicate its relations with Ethiopia.

LESOTHO

"Lesotho: Bombing Destroys Oil Depot." Africa News, 21 February 1983, pp. 3 and 10.

An account of the 13 February 1983 bombing of the Clatex oil depot in Maseru, Lesotho. The Maseru government has blamed South Africa and the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA), military wing of the South African-backed Basutoland Congress Party, for the raid. The government also has blamed them for an attack on water tanks and a pumphouse near Maseru in late January. In essence, the author concludes, South Africa is aiming at economic targets in Lesotho. The Pretoria government has denied the charges.

"Lesotho: Massacre At Maseru." Southern Africa, January/February 1983, pp. 11-12.

An account of the 9 December 1982 SADF raid on reported ANC facilities in Maseru. The author is particularly critical of the US role at the United Nations in softening the resolution condemning the raid. In addition, the author quotes a South African "state radio commentary concerning a joint US-South African commitment . . . to a Monroe Doctrine for Southern Africa in which South Africa accepted special responsibility for maintaining stability" in the area. The commentary reportedly compared South Africa's role to that of the United States in maintaining stability in Central America.

LIBERIA

Sasser, Charles W. "Intrigue in Africa." Soldier of Fortune, July 1983, pp. 40-47.

Discusses the problems of military training in Africa. Specifically cites the experiences with government red tape, sabotage, and JuJu (traditional tribal superstitions) of US Green Berets in Liberia in 1980 after the successful military takeover led by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe.

MADAGASCAR

"Les Audace de Ratsiraka (The Boldness of Ratsiraka)." Afrique-Asie, 28 March 1983, pp. 37-44.

In this important and lengthy declaration during the Seventh Summit of the Nonaligned Countries in early March, President Didier Ratsiraka speaks frankly of the realities facing the Third World and suggests stern measures which should be taken to improve matters.

MAURITIUS

M'Haruia, Jonathan. "Une Ouverture Tiers-Mondiste et Progressiste (A Third World Progressive Initiative)." Afrique-Asie, 28 March 1983, pp. 12-13.

During the 8 months following the leftist victory in Mauritius, the country's diplomatic positions have included recognition of the ANC, SWAPO, and the PLO, and a commitment to nonalignment, which Foreign Affairs Minister Jean-Claude de l'Estrac has defined as a security imperative as well as a political concept. Mauritius has established strong links with India, a process facilitated by cultural affinities between the people of both countries and by the view of the MMM Government that India is one of the principal nations struggling for demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. The French Government has also made clear its intentions of friendship toward the new government.

NAMIBIA

"Namibia: Military Rule?" FOCUS On Political Repression in Southern Africa (London), January/February 1983, pp. 1-2.

Speculates that a South African military takeover of Namibia's "internal government" is in the offing. As the South African Government withdraws its support for Dirk Mudge and the DTA, more and more SADF and Security Police officers are being seen in Namibia. South African Military Intelligence is cited as the "architect of the new strategy." Two individuals are cited by name as having played a major advisory role in organizing a new Namibian administration: Brigadier Theo May, "an officer of South Africa's Military Intelligence seconded to the Administrator General's Office in Namibia," and Brigadier Johannes van der Merwe, "Head of the Security Police in Namibia."

"Namibia: What is the Plan?" Africa Confidential, 19 January 1983, pp. 3-4.

Looks at South Africa's internal Namibian political strategy following the collapse of the DTA under Dirk Mudge's leadership. The new South African Administrator General, Willie van Niekerk, probably will form a new Advisory Council. The most likely non-DTA appointments to the Council will include General Charles Loyd, Commander of the South-West Africa Territory Force, Peter Kalangula, Ovambo Chief Minister and leader of the Christian Democratic Action (CDA), and Justus Garoeb, leader of the Damara Council. Kosie Pretorius, leader of the National Party in Namibia, may also be appointed. South Africa again directly administers Namibia's internal affairs.

NIGERIA

Adamolekun, Ladipo. "Towards a New Nigerian Personality?" West Africa, 30 May 1983, pp. 1292-93.

Examines Nigerian President Shagari's 1983 New Year message regarding "economic crimes" committed by the country's citizens. They are described as contemptuous of hard work and honesty. Shagari envisions a new Nigerian personality based on intellectual honesty and selfless public service. Also discusses the Ethical Reorientation Committee established in 1982.

Dike, Azuka A. "Urban Migrants and Rural Development." The African Studies Review, vol. 25, no. 4 (December 1982), pp. 85-94.

The author shows how migrants to urban areas maintain close ties with their rural community and establish a reciprocal relationship with kinsmen in the rural area. Urban migrants provide rural areas with direct and indirect stimulation of private and public capital investment, educational facilities, and a general improvement of the standard of living. The focal point of the article are the Igbo migrants from east of the River Niger.

Major Companies of Nigeria, 1933. Graham & Trotman. Reviewed in West Africa, 6 June 1983, 1360 pp.

This fourth edition contains the names and addresses of over 2,500 companies operating in Nigeria. Provides information on types of business conducted, financial facts, names of senior executives, and addresses of branch offices.

Onomode, Bade. Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: The Dialectics of Mass Poverty. London: Zed Press, 272 pp. Reviewed in African Business, April 1983, p. 58.

Explains in Marxist terminology Nigeria's current economic and political development. Discusses the relationship of aid in the modern context, the colonial negligence toward health and education, and the social change created in the agricultural sector.

Schatz, Sayer P. "The Nigerian Economy Since the Great Oil-Price Increases of 1973-74." Africa Today, vol. 29, no. 3 (1983), pp. 33-42.

Examines the performance of the Nigerian economy since the OPEC increases of 1973-74. Discusses the impact of oil on the development efforts and on living standards, inflation rates, and structural change.

SEYCHELLES

Franda, Marcus F. The Seychelles: Unquiet Islands. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982.

Includes an historical overview and an analysis of the population mix, politics, and the economy; discusses changes which have occurred in the last decade both domestically and internationally. Sections on security concerns and the army appear in the political chapter.

SOUTH AFRICA

"Anti-Apartheid Measures in U. S. Congress." Africa Confidential, 30 May 1983, pp. 1-2 and 10.

In a burst of anti-apartheid activity, the US House of Representatives is considering three bills calling for mild forms of economic sanctions against South Africa and three resolutions critical of South African government policies. This is seen in part as a reaction to the Reagan administration's "constructive engagement" policy toward the Pretoria regime.

"Conscientious Objections: The Principles." Paratus (Pretoria), April 1983, pp. 22-23 and 69.

Highlights the different parties' views on conscientious objection voiced during the second reading debate of the current Defence Amendment Bill. Defense Minister General Malan presents the Government's official position on the issue.

Lillie, Ashley C. "Refutation of Allegations of Destabilization by the SADF." Paratus (Pretoria), April 1983, pp. 30-31 and 65.

Sergeant Lillie, "a Professional Member of the Military Information Bureau," presents the official SADF response to allegations of "destabilization" throughout Southern Africa. Lillie states that the SADF is "at war" against SWAPO and the ANC alone. The South African Government has warned all its neighbors that they must suffer certain consequences if they permit these "terrorist groups" to use their territory from which to launch attacks against either Namibia or South Africa. The official line is that peace and stability will return to the whole area once the ANC and SWAPO are defeated. Until such time, however, the SADF will continue to use all means at its disposal to win the war against terrorism.

Marcum, John A. Education, Race and Social Change in South Africa. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982.

A presentation of the findings of a team of six American educators--sponsored by the US-South Africa Leader Exchange Program--who interviewed South African educators, students, and civic leaders. Eighteen reports present a broad range of South African views, proposals, and programs regarding the educational needs of black South Africans.

"Security Forces Crushed Soviet Pawns: Not Even Rain Could Cover Their Tracks." Paratus (Pretoria), April 1983, pp. 4-5.

The SADF claims successfully to have stopped this year's rainy season SWAPO infiltration into Namibia. In addition, the article describes SWAPO infiltration tactics and "terrorist activities" against the local Namibian population.

"Security: The IS Act at Work." Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 17 December 1982, p. 1331.

An official South African explanation of the new Internal Security (IS) Act. The new act reportedly does away wholly or in part with the previous Internal Security Act of 1950, the Terrorism Act, General Law Amendment Act, and the Riotous Assemblies and Unlawful Organizations Acts. However, the main provisions of the new law are adapted from these older laws.

"South Africa: The Struggle Continues." International Affairs (Moscow), May 1983, pp. 107-09.

In this interview with the Soviet press, ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo discusses ANC activities in South Africa; the ANC policy toward Namibian independence; US activities in Southern Africa; and Soviet-ANC cooperation and friendship.

Southall, Roger J. South Africa's Transkei. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983.

A neo-Marxist study of the first bantustan to receive "independence" from South Africa. Examines how the bantustan strategy has worked within the context of South Africa's political economy and how it continues to further the exploitation of the oppressed majority. The author concludes that the bantustan policy is a complete failure.

"Suedafrika: Lektion Gelernt (South Africa: Learned Lesson)." Der Spiegel (Hamburg), 27 December 1982, p. 78.

Despite South Africa's overwhelming military superiority in Southern Africa, the "Spear of the Nation," military wing of the ANC, has carried out numerous successful attacks on various economic targets within South Africa over the past several years. Most recently, they were able to attack the supposedly "secure" Koeberg nuclear facility near Cape Town. In sum, the ANC has learned to maximize its political gains and to minimize its losses in carrying out attacks throughout South Africa.

"Support for Cross-border Strikes Against Terrorist Concentrations." Paratus (Pretoria), April 1983, pp. 10-11.

In an interview with Paratus, Mr. R. K. Campbell, a Senior Tutor and Military History Specialist in the Department of International Relations at the University of Witwatersrand, strongly supports SADF cross-border strikes against SWAPO and ANC "terrorist concentrations" in neighboring countries.

Tenneyson, Brian Douglas. Canadian Relations With South Africa: A Diplomatic History. Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, Inc., 238 pp.

Tenneyson traces South African-Canadian diplomatic relations from the Boer War (1899-1902) to the present. The author compares and contrasts the South African and Canadian experiences as "bicultural Dominions of the Empires Commonwealth," despite the fact that South Africa no longer is a member. Although trade and ties between the two countries is limited, South Africa's policy of apartheid has come to play a major role in the relations between these two states.

Terreblanche, S. J. "South Africa in North-South Relationships." Africa Insight, vol. 12, no. 2 (1982), pp. 102-11.

Professor Terreblanche of the University of Stellenbosch presented this paper in January 1982 at a seminar on South Africa's economy and its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany held at Boppard, FRG. Terreblanche describes the economic and political chaos in Africa resulting from the "abrupt decolonization following World War II." Europe has a responsibility to help stabilize Africa. The author hastens to point out, since South Africa is "New Europe in Africa," that Europe should work more closely with the Republic in rebuilding and reshaping African economies. After all, South Africa is the only power in Africa that has the means and capabilities to help the underdeveloped countries. A collapse of the current "South African system" would only result in complete chaos throughout Southern Africa. In essence, Europe should strengthen its ties to South Africa rather than call for sanctions against it.

SUDAN

Ebrahim, Mohammed H. S. "Irrigation Projects in Sudan: The Promise and the Reality." Journal of African Studies (Spring 1983), pp. 2-13.

Discusses the Gezira, New Halfa, and the Rahad irrigation projects and gives the scope, goals, and result for each so far. Concludes that the projects are facing severe problems that prevent them from realizing their goal of food self-sufficiency.

TANZANIA

"Tanzania: Officers' Discontent but Loyalty in the Ranks." Africa Now, April 1983, pp. 26-27.

The Tanzanian Army (TPDF) became a reliable and loyal force after pay and conditions were greatly improved following a 1964 mutiny. The 1979-80 war against Idi Amin has had a lasting, detrimental effect on discipline and morale in the TPDF, however. TPDF troops got in the habit of abusing their position while occupying Uganda, and corruption became a problem in the TPDF in the years of economic hardship following the war. Morale has been affected by the currently bleak prospects for upward mobility due to rapid wartime promotions. Despite growing discontent in the armed forces, the majority of the TPDF remains loyal to Nyerere.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Thomas Sankara: Entre Rawlings et Kaddafi (Thomas Sankara: Between Rawlings and Qadhafi)." Jeune Afrique, 1 June 1983, pp. 30-32.

Largely a biographic account of Thomas Sankara and his short-lived but meteoric rise in Upper Volta politics. Sankara's clandestine Marxist connections are discussed as well as his admiration for and connections with Ghana's Flight Lieutenant J. J. Rawlings and Libya's President Qadhafi.

Diallo, Siradiou. "La Chute de l'Aigle (The Fall of the Eagle)." Jeune Afrique, 1 June 1983, pp. 28-29.

The Marxist revolutionary appeal of ex-Prime Minister Thomas Sankara and his alliance with Colonel Qadhafi of Libya disturbed many in Upper Volta and alarmed its neighbors and France. Sankara's glorious days ended when conservative forces had him arrested.

ZAIRE

Nzongola-Ntalaja. "Class Struggle and National Liberation in Zaire." Contemporary Marxism, Spring 1983, pp. 57-94.

Focuses on the post-colonial struggle of Zaire's masses to improve living conditions. Concentrates on the role of the African petty bourgeoisie. The author argues that there is a clear and direct relationship between pre-independence nationalist politics and post-colonial political developments, and that the people's representatives turned into the people's oppressors.

ZAMBIA

Mudenda, Gilbert N. "Class Formation and Class Struggle in Contemporary Zambia." Contemporary Marxism, Spring 1983, pp. 95-118.

Examines the nature of "class formation and struggle in Zambia. Argues that the political process taking place today is part of the quest for change and development. Also argues that the victory of a class alliance is largely the victory of the dominant class within the alliance. Thus, in Zambia, the prospect of the alliance of the workers will determine the direction of future developments in the country.

ZIMBABWE

Gleb, Norman. "Trouble in Matabeleland: Zimbabwe's Odd Man Out." The New Leader, 18 April 1983, pp. 10-11.

Gleb discusses the Ndebele and white minorities' problems facing Prime Minister Robert Mugabe in Matabeleland. Joshua Nkomo's self-imposed exile underscores the volatile nature of ethnic rivalries in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, as the "father of Zimbabwean independence," Nkomo's exile poses a problem for the Mugabe regime in its international dealings with former Nkomo supporters, Zambian President Kaunda in particular.

"Zimbabwe's Political Tensions Compound Economic Problems." Africa Economic Digest, 18 March 1983, pp. 2-3.

Zimbabwe's 1983 economic outlook is not too bright. Political problems in Matabeleland and Joshua Nkomo's self-imposed exile probably will cause a cutback in foreign aid and investment. In addition, "only this year will Zimbabweans feel the brunt of the world recession." The Zimbabwean dollar was devalued 20 percent last year and may well be devalued again this year. Although agricultural exports usually play an important role in the balance of payments for Zimbabwe, Southern Africa is in the midst of a serious widespread drought. For the immediate future the Harare regime must rely heavily on the minerals export market for cash. Despite this bleak picture, Zimbabwe has excellent economic potential. It has a sound economic infrastructure and is blessed with abundant natural resources. The "negative growth" of 1983 comes after 4 years of considerable growth. Consequently, the long-term picture looks good.

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